MAY 20 1944
PERIODICAL DIVISION

The DAWN

FOUNDER: MR. M. A. JINNAH

Under the Supervision of NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, Hony. Secy. All-India Muslim League.

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NEWS OF THE WEEK

THE RUSSIAN WAR

New of the Moscow front, coming from Russian sources reveal that the Germans have touched a new offensive at Volokolomsk where the situation is stated to be serious.

If the German claim of breaking through the Perkop isttmus and reaching the Crimean peninsula is true, it would mean that the Germans will be able to fight on a wider front thus making the position in this area more serious.

The Russians admit the evacuation of Kharkov. The Germans claim to have reached the upper reaches of the the Dontz on a wide front.

Another claim to have broken the main resistance of Soviet armies is made by Germany on Thursday night

GREAT PARADE AT ANKARA

Turkish President's Appeal

An urgent appeal for increased production as a means of preventing the spreading of war to Turkey was made by President Ineunu in an address to the Turkish nation on Wednesday — Republic Day—when a great parade was held at Ankara in honour of the 18th anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

The parade included aircraft displays, mass parchute descent, flame-throwers, smoke ejectors, mountain artillery, cavalry, horse artillery, mechanised units drawing American howitzers, British anti-aircraft guns and British anti-tank guns.

Turkish Generals Meet Hitler

It is announced that Hitler has received at his headquarters the Turkish Generals, Ali Faud and Hussein Erkilet, who are returning from a tour of inspection of the eastern front. They also visited Field Marshal Von Brauchitsch and Field Marshal Keitel.

Japanese Exodus from India

Batch Of 215 To Sail From Bombay

Most of the Japanese nationals in India are leaving for Japan early in November. This batch of about 215 consists of 90 from Bombay, 12 from Karachi, 6 from Madras and the rest from Calcutta

Mr. Okasaki, the Japanese Consul-General in Calcutta, Mr. R. Tsurumi, acting Consul in Karachi, and a few others of the diplomatic service are also sailing by the Hie Maru the N.Y.K. steamer usually plying between Japan and America, which has been specially chartered and sent here by the Japanese Government for taking Japanese nationals from India and the Middle East. This ship took a trip to Bandar Shahpur and Mombasa and is due back in Bombay with about 80 Japaness from the Middle East.

When this batch has left, there will be less than 60 or 70 Japaness left in this country. They are key men in the Japanese firms, which, it is learnt, will continue their business. The Consulates in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi also will function as before.

Mr. Fazlul Huq Sees Viceroy

Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy at 12-30 p.m. on Wednesday.

The Bengal Premier also had talks with the Hon'ble Mr. N.R. Sarkar, Education Member, Government of India.

BENGAL MINISTERS

Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin and Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, Ministers of Bengal, met Mr. M. .A Jinnah on Wednesday afternoon and discussed the Bengal political situation before leaving for Calcutta.

The Grand Mufti

The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem has arrived at an airport in southern Italy, according to the Italian news agency.

NO MASS ACTION DURING THE WAR

Mr. Gandhi Replies To Critics

Mr. Gandhi reviewing the *satyagraha* situation in the course of a statement replies to critics who want the present struggle to be intensified and rejects their plea for mass action. The call for mass action, he adds, "will not come before the close of the war. There is neither warrant nor atmosphere for mass action."

Continuing he says: "Mass action at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to civil war. If civil war is to be our lot, it will come. But if I know the Congress mind it will never come at the wish or invitation of the Congress."

"The Parliamentary programme was given up in lots by the Congress". says Mr. Gandhi, "and the nation lost nothiug by it. Parliamentary progamme will have its definite place when we have a Parliament of our own."

JAMIAT-UL-ULEMA

The annual session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Hind will be held this year at Lahore on December 19 and subsequent days.

LEAGUE COUNCIL ADOPTS BOMBAY RESOLUTIONS

HEATED DEBATE OVER IRAN SITUATION

Punjab Premier Seeks President's protection

Exciting scenes were witnessed at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League that met on Monday, in the Anglo-Arabic College Hall under the presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, during discussion on a resolution on the situation in Iran, Iraq and Syria. The resolution was opposed by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, who was continuously inter-upted in the course of his speech. Mr. Jinnah, however, came to the rescue of the Punjab Premier and secured a patient hearing for him.

The Raja of Mahmudabad, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Sir Karimbhai Ibrahim were opposed to passing any fresh resolution on Iran.

The Raja of Mahmudabad deprecated the bringing in of the question of personal views about His Majesty King Raza Shah into the discussion. He, however, agreed that although Indian Muslims had always sacrificed for the causes of Islamic countries, the Muslims in these countries had never passed even one resolution about Indian Muslims. This, however, should not prevent them from saying what they felt in the matter.

Recent events at the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League, have amply demonstrated that every Musalman has got his heart in the organisation. The trend of speeches delivered in the Council clearly show that the Muslims are whole heartedly prepared to carry out any programme that may be chalked out from time to time for reaching the goal of their ambition—Pakistan.

Sir Sikandar's speech at the Council meeting on the Muslim countries, was not in unison with the march of times, and the resentment with which it was received by the members of the Council showed which may the wind is blooming.

The speeches of the Raja of Mahmudabad and Sardar Aurangzeb Khan had a fine moralising effect. It was after them Mr. Jinnah spoke and his words went straight into the hearts of the andiencer.

Bombay Resolution.

Earlier, the meeting unanimously adopted the resolutions of the Working Committee parsed at Bombay on August 24, 25, and 26, and at Delhi this morning.

During the discussion on the Bombay resolution, Mr. Sher Ahmed Khan from the Punjab sought to move an amendment urging that the British Government should unequivocany declare that the principles had down in the Anglo-American peace aims popularly known as "Atlantic charier" should apply to all the Muslim States.

The Chair held that the Working Committee's resolutions could not be amended They could either be confirmed by the Council or rejected. He, therefore, rulled the amendmentout of order.

The Council by a majority, decided to proceeed with the election of two Joint Secretaries and elected Khan Bahadur Momin from Bengal and Mr. Mahbub Ahmed from the Punjab to be Joint Secretaries of the League for the year.

The meeting also empowered Mr. Jinnah to select the venue and fix the dates for the next annual session of the League.

The Council which met on Sunday and Monday last adopted the following resolution :--

(1) This Council of the All-India Muslim League expresses its profound sorrow at the sad and untimely death of Maulana Inayatullah Sahib of Frangi Mahal, Lucknow, a member of the League Council. He rendered very valuable services in the cause of the Muslims, both educationally and politically and served the League faithfully and his death is a great loss to the Muslim community. The Council offers its deep sympathy and condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

(2) The members of the Council from various Provinces who have ceased to be members under section 12 of the constitution be re-elected.

(3) The Resolutions of the Working Committee passed at the meetings held on August 24, 25 and 26, 1941 in Bombay and on October 26 and 27, 1941 passed at Delhi be approved.

(4) Khan Bahadur M. A. Momin of Calcutta and Mr. Mahboob Ahmed of Lahore be elected as Honorary Joint Secretaries.

(5) The President be empowered to fix the date and place for the next annual session of the All-India Muslim League.

(6) This meeting of the council of the All-India Muslim League, while endorsing the decision of the Working Committee and the steps taken by the president of the All India Muslim League in connection with the expansion of the Executive council of H. E. the Viceroy and the so called National Defence council; congratulates the Working Committee and President on their decision and proper steps taken in the matter, and severely condemns the action of Hon'ble Dr. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmad and Begum Shah Nawaz, in refusing to accept the manate of the Working Committee and insisting—remain on the said councils in flagarant disregard of the wishes of the Musalmans.

This council further declares that the Musalmans taken in the expanded council of H. E. the Viceroy and the so-callled National Defence Council are in no way represent the interests of Mussalmans.

This council further condemns the attitude of the Government in this connection which is only to create a rift in the ranks of the Mussalmans.

(7) A committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to chalk out a detailed scheme for collecting systematically *zakat*, *fitra* and skins of *qurbani* and using them for the promotion of Muslim interests according to *shariat* and place the scheme before thd Council of the League as early as possible for consideration:

(1) Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang; (2) Maulana Mohd. Akram Khan; (3) Mr. Hussain Shahid Suhrawardi; (4) Maulana Qutbuddin Abdul Wali of FringiMahal; (5) Maulana Abdul Hamid, Badauni; (6) Maulana Hussain Mian of Phulwari Sharif (mover); (7) Maulana Hakim Abdur Rauf Danapuri; (8) Mirza Abul Hasan Ispahani of Calcutta; (9) Maulana Syed Ibne Hasan; (10) Maulvi Badruddin Ahmad of Bihar; (11) Haji Abdul Kadir of Aligarh; and (12) Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.

(8) This meeting of the Council deeply deplores the serious riots at Amraoti in C, P. and Mellore in Madras Presidency which clearly indicate that they were not merely the outcome of sudden communal outbursts but were the result of calculated design to undermine the morale of the Muslims in areas where they are in a microscopic minority. In view of these riots and several others in other provinces, the Council urges upon the Government to devise forthwith strong measures to check the growing tendencies of lawlessness and terrorism of the Hindu majority and to afford effective protection to the Muslim minorities in the provinces.

Among those who attended the Council of the All India Muslim League, besides the members of the Working Committee, were Al-Haj Maulana Karam Ali, Dr. Sir Ziauddin, Mr. M.A. Ispahani, Maulana Jamal Mian Mr. Chandrigar, Mr. M. A. Maniar, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, S. Murtuza Bahadur Begum Wasim, Begum Aizaz Rasul, Begum Rahman, Nawab Shamasul Hasan, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, Miss Fatima Jinnah, Hon. H. S. Suhrawardi and Nawab of Daccca.

Muslim League Walk-Out

CENTRAL ASSEMBLY MEETS.

"Revise your Policy", Says Mr. Jinnah.

Proof of the growing deterioration in the country's politics was witnessed on the first day (Monday) of the Central Assembly session. In contrast to the congestion on the Treasury Benches as a result of the "expansion" was the conspicuous absence of non-official members of the House.

The Muslim League party walked out of the Central Assembly on Tuesday morning after Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the party's leader had made a statement declaring that they were doing so in order to register their protest against the way in which the Muslim offer of co-operation in the war effort had been completely ignored by the Government.

THE following is the full text of Mr. Jinnah's statement:

"As we have decided not to take part in the discussion, not only of this motion which is immediately before the House but we have decided to withdraw from this House during the present Autumn session as a mark of protest, because we strongly resent and disapprove of the decision of the Government in regard to the manner in which the Executive Council have been expanded and the National Defence Council has been constituted, and the way in which this has been carried out, I think we owe a duty to the House and to those whom we represent that we should make our statement and give shortly our reasons why we have adopted this course of registering our protest. I assure you, Sir, and I assure the House that I shall avoid, as far as it is possible to do so, entering into any controversial matters on this question and I shall briefly state our position."

Sad Story

"It is a sad and painful story. In the first instance, as far back as November 1939, after the war had broken out, a proposal came from Viceroy. That proposal was that Government were prepared to meet the major parties, at any rate, as far as possible, by the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council. And I was very glad that they made that proposal.

"So far as the Muslim League is concerned we have made it quite clear from the very beginning that apart from the major issues, we were ready and willing to render every possible assitance in the prosecution of the war. To put it in the language of the Resolution which we passed when rejecting the proposal, this is what we said:

'Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last (that is 1939) to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed in the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and the existing law.'

"The parties and organisations were not willing to accept this and the matter went on.

August 1940.

"Then, came the announcement of the 8th of August 1940. In spirit and almost in letter that announcement was in principle exactly what we urged in the Resolution of the All-India Muslim League Committee in June 1940, but it came on the 8th of August 1940. We were glad and we welcomed the thing to this extent that the principle was accepted, namely, a genuine and real share in the authority of the Government. But when that principle came to be translated, the only thing that was offered by the Government, without telling us what the total number was going to be, without telling us who the other parties were, without telling us anything about any other matter, was that the number of our representatives will be two. That did not show, to begin with a real and gunuine spirit or desire on the part of the Government to treat us as co-sharers not only in the authority of the Government but co-sharer in the danger which we were willing to face to the utmost. Therefore, it was not possible for us to accept that position and we rejected it. I venture to say that no decent organisation, no decent self-respecting party could possibly have accepted that offer.

"That was finished in September 1940. After that the Government remained asleep and the Government and the people all the time were misrepresenting us that we were non-co-operating and were putting difficulties in the way. All sorts of allegations were made against us. Not only that, but sometimes arguments were also used.

Danger.

"Now, I have always admitted and there is not the slightest doubt about it, and we do realise, that there is a grave danger and menace to India. We have repeatedly said in our Resolutions, as far back as June 1940, that the efforts that you were making and the schemes that were suggested by the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief were not sufficient. You must increase and intensify your war efforts. Our Resolutions are on the record but, as I said, the Government went to sleep and nothing was heard.

"All that we were told was that we were in danger and we were told what would happen to us. We were told what would happen to us if Hitler came here. I quite agree that if England is broken or beaten there will be a terrible chaos in this country. But while you say this and threaten us with the consequences, can't you say what will happen to you? Why can't you say what will happen to us all? The spirit in which the criticism is offered is this: *We are all right but what will happen to you; You won't be here to talk about your independence and liberty and things of that sort?* On the other hand I want you to enter into this spirit: *What will happen to you and me both?* Do you really want our whole-hearted and full assistance ?

Objectionable.

"Then came this decision which was announced on the

(Continued on page 11)

ECHOES FROM BENGAL

BY ORPHEUS

The political atmosphere of Muslim Bengal is clearing up. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq's letter to the League Secretary was threatening a major political crisis which was being enthusiastically fomented by the anti-Muslim forces and organs in Bengal. Now that the crisis is yielding to peaceful solution, the so-called nationalist Press have started singing a different tune. Mr. Huq is no longer *persona grata* with them. He is once again being pictured not as a nationalist hero but a communalist monster and a reactionary. This change over-night is significant. The game of these communalists in the garb of nationalists has always been to create dissensions and difficulties in the path of Muslim solidarity. This sinister game now stands exposed once again. These "self-deluded fools", to quote Mr. Huq's own estimate of them, undoubtedly deserve pity.

* * *

'Out of evil cometh good!, The recent crisis has reveled the extent of League-mindedness in Bengal. The Muslim League has filtered down to the very depths of Muslim Bengal. The League and all that it stands for have been the burden of enthusiastic discussions throughout the length and breadth of this province. The interest displayed for strength and welfare of the League has been marvellous. The League has undoubtedly strirred the teeming millions of Muslim Bengal to the very core of their hearts. The League has emerged out of the crisis with added strength. After all, an organization like the League, representing as it does the ten crores of Muslims in India, has to derive its strength and importance from the masses. The message of the League has to reach them, through thick and thin, so that it makes them think, move and discuss. The recent crisis has served this end to a very great extent.

* * *

The response in support of the League and Muslim solidarity which the former typefies, from all over Muslim Bengal, has been most remarkable. The crisis can be safely described as a blessing in disguise. The opponents of the League might profit by the experience. But perhaps it is too much to expect this from the Machiavelli's of India. They are out to create disruptions in the ranks of the Muslims. But their game is bound to stand frustrated. The more they will vilify the League and the Qaid-i-Azam, the strongerwill the League be. The League derives its strength from the justice of its cause and from the teachings and tenents of Islam. Justice must triumph in the long run, for the holy Quran – the Word of Allah —rings out: "Truth must triumph and falsehood vanish eth." The word of God cannot prove untrue.

* * *

It is time the authorities of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League should take up the work of completing the League organization in Bengal in right earnest. The iron is hot now and it must be struck into the desired mould. The field is ready. The heart of Muslim Bengal is quickening, as it has never done before. No more time must be wasted The all-important task of completing the League organization in Bengal cannot brook delay. The feeling in the country is that the task has already been left undone far too long. League-workers are getting restless. The League leaders must move with the times and get to business or they are sure to be taken to task in the long run. The League has come to stay, and the caravan of the League will pass on irssespective of personalities.

The organs of Muslim public opinion in Bengal, happily, are of one mind regarding the League ideals. They have done their best to prepare the ground. They are determined to do so still further. The recent crisis has electrified the atmosphere The "DAWN" as the organ voice of the League has also appeared on the horizon at the right moment, The "DAWN" undoubtedly betokens the streak of new light out of the darkness and despair of the passing night. Muslim India is thrilled at the dawn of Pakistan, the ideal worth striving for and even dying for, and devoutly wishes for the consumation of the soul-stirring ideal, It is not mere wishful thinking Nay, it is a stern reality. Go to the remotest corner of the country, and you will be enthralled to see how things are moving and shaping themselves out of spontaneous love and regard enthusiasm for the new ideals and newer angle of vision. This is truth and nothing but the truth,

* * *

The assurance of the *Quaid-i-Azam* to develop the weekly "DAWN" into a "first class daily" at no distant date is to be heartly welcome, The message will unndoubtedly find enthusiastic response from all over Muslim India, The name is very significant indeed, Dawn is the harbinger of new light and newer bustle of life, Let us hope the "Dawn" will really prove to be the dawn of Pakistan and all that the Muslim Leage stands for,

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A. I. Muslim Students Federation.

Nagpur is buzzing with activities connected with forthcoming Annual Session of the A-I. Muslim Student Fedration, to be held there on December 25, 26 and 27 next under the presidentship of Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah.

Recently a special deputation consisting of Mr. Mohammed Noman, Deputy President, AlI-India Muslim Students Federation, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan M.L.A. (Central), and three office bearers of the Reception Committee, undertook an extensive tour of the North Eastern Part of the Central Provinces. The deputation visited Bina, Katni Saugor, Jubbalpore, Bilaspur, Raipur and Gonda, where it received very encouraging response from the Muslim Students.

A Pandal Sub-Committee consisting of enthusiastic workers, is at present busy making necessary arrangements for erecting a beautiful and spacious pandal for this Conference of the Muslim Youths of India.

LETTERS

Welcome

Sir Permit me to offer a most hearty welcome to our new weekly, "The Dawn," at this hour of peril when the Indian Musalman is greatly perturbed by darkness within and darkness around. Never were a people so grossly misunderstood or so ruthlessly exploited as the Mussalmans. Let us hope and trust that. The Dawn of Delhi will herald a new chapter in the life of Islam in India, dispelling the forces of darkness within and around and thereby facilitating the fruition of a free Islam in a free India.—

Calcutta. Yours etc.,
Muzharey Towheed,

Musalman know thy God

Sir---A variety of politlcal and economic programmes have been put forward to improve the lot of the Musalmans in India. What we need is essentially a correct Islam-consciovs public opinion amongst the Muslims to build a stately and lasting edifice of Muslim society on.

I would suggest for consideration to those who have the will and the means to do it that they should first form small units under their control and instil the spirit of the Quran in the Mussalmans who form the unit. For this purpose my suggestion is that small colonies should be formed in which able-bodied but poor Muslims should be employed to work on agricultural, dairy or poultry farms. Each colony should be situated near a big city so that easy market could be found for its produce, thus enabling it to become self-supporting. The management of the colony should take genuine interest to better the lot of its inmates on Islamic principles. The management of the colony should take keen interest in and exercise necessary cantrol over the lives of the inmates It will only thus be possible to impart practical Islamic training to the masses---the conception of the Unity of *Allah*, the *Namaz*, the *Rozah*, the *Zakat* the *Haj* and the *Jehad*. The inmates of the colony should be made to understand why the Creator created them and how they should best justify their existence as His devoted servants. It should further be brought home to them what the fear of the Almighty really means, and how a genuine feeling of the fear of the Supreme will enable a believer to stear clear of the whirlpools of temptation, selfishness and other worldly weakness.

The one note of warning I would like to sound in this connection is that the scheme should only be taken up by those who understand Islam and know the value of money, having earned it themselves, and can see that good use is made of the same.

I would appeal to my brothren to give earnest consideration to my humble suggestion. The only beginning that can be madeto make the Indian Mussalman grasp the true spirit of Islam is to organise groups of Mussalmans into self-supporting units, entrusting them each to the complete care of a God-fearing, conscientious Mussalman who should instruct them in the ways of Islam, as indicated in the *Quran*. once a number of Mussalmans are so trained, it will not be difficult then to lead the entire nation under any scheme to the desired object of prosperity---

Lucknow. Yours etc.,
Mubarak Husain,

(And what about the classes?---Editor)

Press, Film & Fiction

Sir---As a nation we the Muslims of India must have our own press, films and fiction. Freedom is never possible without the uplift of the masses, and this can only be achieved through the press, films and fiction. It is through the columns of newspapers or on the screen or stage or through the pages of the literature of the day that politicians and patriots have their ideas conveyed to the public.

The success of the Congress is due to these three means. The Congress has combined all these three forces to exterminate the Islamic culture, the Muslim fivilisation and even the Muslims themselves. They have monopolised the press and the screen and their intelligentsia have applied themselves to produce literature that will, to coin a new word, congressise the people.

The object of a newspaper is to train public opinion in the political views and aims of the party it represents. Thus it creates a political atmosphere saturated with the ideas of that group only. This sort of atmosphere more often than not proves miasmatic to others and it is impossible to live unpoisoned in miasmatic surroundings. Take at random any example in India and see how dexterously the press side-tracks the views of the opposite party. I appeal to the readers in the name of justice to judge for themselves. It is evident, therefore, that the press has enormous power because it has a great hold in influencing the public socially, economically, religiously, politically and so on.

Another powerful and effective agency is the screen which acts as a chief medium of communication between the masses and the leaders. Films have caused something like a revolution in the social life. They contribute to the knowledge of the public, whether educated or uneducated. The importance of a film lies in the fact that it saves the trouble of reading, is open to all and, being romantic, is more appealing to the senses. Moreover the impression of films is deeper and lasting than that of news papers. This recreation carries with it the latent force that has got sufficient buoyancy to be active enough to achieve national glory.

Last but not the least comes Fiction, which plays no less an important part in the life of a nation,

It is high time now for us to realise how badly we require a press to express ourselves and to declare what we want. One finds a little solace in the fact that the Qaid-a-Azam is endeavouring to establish a press of our own and has already founded a weekly English Journal, The Dawn, at Delhi. But it is painful to know that three lakhs of Muslims of Bombay have failed totally to give the necessary response to the appeal of our Qaid-e-Azam in this regard. Once the Muslims as a united nation rise to the occasion with the firm determination and absolute faith in the Almighty *Allah*, who gave them successive victories right from the 'Jang-e-Badar' to the 'Jang-e-Salib, success is sure to attend their endeavours, as in the past---

Bombay. Yours etc.,
Syed Sharifuddin Peerzada,

Pakisthan Conference

Sir---The recent Pakistan Conference held at Calcutta was a great success. The services for our brothers of the U.P. and other parts of India in that connection cannot be over estimated. It is, therefore, necessary that the scope of the movement be carefully realised and given effect to. It is well that the student community in Bengal has taken up the movement for doing the needful. Indeed, this movement is something other than what it would appear to a stranger. It is neither a political compromise nor a political bluff. It is a call from within. In its subjectivism it is a movement for self-purification, self-correction and self-development after self-examination. In its objectivism it contemplates a topographical boundary wherein it seeks to strive after the establishment of truth in place of untruth, of peace in place of war, and where things are seen at their real value and not at their face value. It possesses, therefore a nobility, a grandeur of its own which ought to command respect. The scheme, is undoubtedly an honest scheme and represents the latest phase in the development of the national will and of the political consciousness of the Mussalmans of India. There is, therefore, no place for hate or ill will against any community in the scheme---

Calcutta. Yours etc.,
Muzharey Towheed,

RATES

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The Dawn

DELHI

Sunday, November 2, 1941

Boycott of Legislature

THE Boycott of the Central Legislatures is the only answer Muslim India could give through its representative organisation, the Muslim League, to the British Government in India for ignoring its offer of co-operation in the war efforts and for going about the business of expanding the Viceroy's Executive Council and the setting up of the National defence council in a manner calculated to effect a rift in Muslim ranks. The Muslim League party, therefore, walked out of the Central Assembly on Tuesday morning after Mr. Jinnah had made a statement declaring that they were doing so in order to register their protest against the way in which the Muslim offer of co-operation in the war effort had been completely ignored by the Government. And as Mr. Jinnah pointed out, it was the Government and the Government alone that was responsible for driving the Muslim League to take up that attitude, and "one cannot come to any other conclusion than that they do not really honestly want our assistance."

The Muslim League was willing as far back as November 1939, "without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues latter on, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed in the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and the existing law." Then came the Government announcement of August 8, 1940 which was in principle exactly what the League had urged a couple of months earlier, in June 1940. But when that principle—namely, a genuine and real share in the authority of the Government came to be translated, the only thing that was offered by the Government, "without telling us what the total number was going to be, without telling us who the other parties were, without telling us anything about any other matter, was that the number of our representatives will be two." That did not show a genuine desire on the part of the Government to treat the Muslim nation as co-sharers not only in the authority of the Government but co-sharers in the danger which they were willing to face to the utmost. No self-respecting nation could possibly have accepted that position, which was, therefore, rejected. The Government, thereafter, slept over the matter till recently when the extension of the Executive Council and the setting up of the Defence Council was announced, ignoring the Muslim League which never put any difficulties in the Government's way. This decision was forced upon the Muslim Nation in India in spite of its opposition and contrary to the advice of its authoritative and representative organisation, the All-India Muslim League.

The protest that the League has entered will, it is hoped, "open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf" and serve to expose the claim of the Government to have found an interim solution of the Indian problem. Having been repudiated both by the Hindus and the Muslims the scheme—mere multiplication of portfolios at the expense of the the tax-payer and the farce of the Defence Council, staged to mislead public opinion aboard into believing that effective steps were being taken to associate representative Indians in the prosecution of the War—is not going to be helpful to any party concerned. Will the Government, even now, "have the wisdom and statesmanship" of revising this scheme before it is too late?

NOTES

Price Cntrol

Since the outbreak of the present war India, like other countries of the world, is face to face with the serious problem of rise in prices of all commodities. Hitherto, price control has proved ineffective, and profiteering is going on unchecked with impunity. It is understood that the Central Government have delegated powers to Provincial Governments to control prices in respect of certain commodities but neither the former nor the latter have, so far, done anything really effective to relieve the distress of the consumer. While the Government here are letting things drift, the Australian Government have tackled rhe problem successfully in their country. The cost of living there, including rent, clothing and miscellaneous items has not been allowed to rise above 8-6%, as compared with over 30% rise in the corresponding period of the last Great War; the prices of food-stuff and grocery have risen only 3% against 40% and wholesale prices by 15% against 50%. The Government of India should take a lesson from the Commonwealth which has been able to overcome the administrative difficulties which are generally put forward in this country as an excuse by the authorities for their inability to do anything in the matter. Recently a Price Control Conference was held at New Delhi under the auspices of the Government of India. Their deliberations did not produce any tangible results. As on previous occasions, they met, discussed and and dispursed after holding academic discussions, without bringing relief to the suffering masses. It is a matter of common knowledge that speculation is largely responsible for the rise in prices. Is it, then too much to expect that the Government of India will, even now, take steps to control it?

Harping on Differences

Eulogising her war effort and the bravery of her soldiers in Egypt, Abbysinia and the middle East, Mr. Amery in his recent speech again refers to the differences between the various elements of the population of British-made India. Like other British politicians he keeps on harping on differences instead of facing facts and helping to find a solution. The differences, as is well known, relate to the distribution of power between the different nations inhabiting this sub-continent. The Muslims want to have sovereignty in the zones where they form the majority. The Hindus, on the other hand, wish to step into the shoes of the British Government in India, to the exclusion of other rightful claimants, and hence their insistence on having a Central Government for the whole of British-made India through which to usurp all power and paralyse the Muslim majority in the North and the East. It is unfortunate that those in power, instead of honestly acceding to the modest Muslim demands and discouraging the avaricious claims of the other party, seem to take malicious delight in keeping those differences dangling before the peoples, using the same as an excuse to perpetuate British Rule in the Indian sub-continent. All assertions of Mr. Amery and other British statesmen for the right of self-determination of nations sound hollow without recognition of the same principle with regard to the Muslim nation in India.

ISLAM

(Reproduced from "World Review")

The problems of contemporary Islam are closely interwoven with the strategy and outcome of the war. The relations of the Muslim world both with Britain and Germany are investigated here in past, present and future by Dr. Edgar Stern-Rubarth, who had first-hand personal contact with these most topical questions.

Special Article.

TO bring about a close alliance of the Crescent and the Cross, or specifically of the Green Flag of the Prophet and the Union Jack, is not a recent endeavour, though it was first formulated in Britain by Disraeli in the *Tancred or the New Crusader*. And as the Moslem problem became a secular instead of a religious one, both the chances and obstacles of such a close co-operation as 'Dizzy' visualised became more numerous and actual.

Britain, France, Russia, Australia, Italy---all benefited by the partial dissolution of the Turkish Empire. Germany was the only first-rank European power which went empty-handed. Moltke, military founder of the First Reich who, in his young days had taken part in the reorganisation of Turkey and William II 'Protector of Islam' and friend of the cunning, cruel tyrant Abdul Hamid II, tried to remedy this. They failed because they forced Turkey during the last war into active participation and thereby drove the Arabs and the Allies into each other's arms.

Germany's defeat in the Near East was sealed, not so much by Colonel Lawrence's persuasion and leadership, or Britain's gold and arms, as by the blunder of the Young Turks in joining the Central Powers. The great chance for the realisation of Disraeli's dream, the dream of a British Oriental Empire with Delhi as its capital, and the Arab countries of the New and Middle East as pillars of this world-wide realm, seemed almost tangible.

The difficulties and pitfalls of the Near East in the present war were caused by the mistakes which the Allies committed twenty-odd years ago. Conflicting promises on the issue of Palestine to Arabs and Jews, the prevention of the resurrection of a real Arab State or at least an independent federation, the unsatisfactory treatment of Ibn Saud, were all links in a chain of misdirected policy. Yet in the last twenty years Turkey, Persia, Egypt and Afghanistan have all drawn together---basing on a religous community political and economic sympathies and operation.

But even so, the Arab world is still closer to Britain and her Allies than to the Fifth Columnists of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

Berlin-Baghdad Axis

History repeats itself. Yet, perhaps, it is only the second act of the same great drama that started over a quarter-century ago, and continues to engulf us to-day. Then, as now, the Near East was one of the most important, if not palpably the most decisive, scenes of the tragedy; then, as now, German ambitions and British vital interests clashed along the Biblical rivers of Mesopotamia, the old trade routes between East and West, and around the Suez Canal. I was a young German officer in those days; and a daring scheme for a stroke upon the Canal, even before Turkey had been persuaded to join the Central Powers, had brought me an appointment as A.D.C. of the German General Staff's Expedition to Iraq and Iran. My appointment was also explained by the close relations I had with certain Constantinople circles, Disguised as a circus director with the remnants of his troupe—which consisted in truth of French prisoners of Moslem faith who had deserted the Allied cause —I arrived in Constantinople after an eventful journey through pro-Allied Rumania. It was on the eve of the declaration of the *Jihad*, the 'Holy War', and I helped to make it a scene of enthusiasm I saw Enver, Talaat, Halil and other leading Young Turks at work ; and a little later, with my commander and a handful of comrades, travelled along the road which had seen Alexander and the Crusaders.

In Kerbela, the holy city of the Shites, where religious fanaticism had never before tolerated Unbelievers, I was, as a newly-commissioned officer of the Sultan-Caliph, a guest of the *mujtehids*, the council of 'Cardinals', lawgivers for seventy million Shiites in Persia, Southern Iraq, India and Yemen After difficult negotiations (and not without plunging into the huge chests of gold coins I had received for 'campaign funds') I obtained from them a cleverly worded *'fethwa'*. This was a call to arms, its wording derived from one of the Koran's Suras, sealed with the five Mujtehids' *'mochrs'*, and penned on parchment in beautiful Cufic letters. This was implemented by a letter to the Shah of Persia, impressing upon him the obligation to join Turkey and the Central Powers. We were very proud of that diplomatic success, of loyalty by some of the most important sheikh of Bedouin and Persian tribes, although as a rule they cost us heavy 'subsidies' both in gold and in armaments —though the latter we could only promise. But they seriously upset the Turkish authorities, who dislikedGerman interference with their already unruly Arabian subjects. Not that our diplomacy had much concrete result. Wherever there was real fighting (as in the gory three-days battle at Schwaiba-Zobeir, on 12th to 14th April 1915, when a Turkish Army tried to recapture Basra after a daring hundred-mile march through a waterless desert) most of the Arab tribesmen scattered after the first few enemy shells had fallen. Their loyalty wavered according to the fortune of war, as by that time their independence, the resurrection of an Arab empire, was already the leading motive of all their actions.

Hitler's emissaries and Fifth Columnists, the Grobbas, Hentigs, Rosers, Kerstens, Homanns, trying to play to-day subversively a role we had played with official sanction and within the boundaries of an allied Turkey, are up against the same problem, Whatever bribes they may have given or offered, whatever dazzling promises of a free and united world of Islam may have been made by these Nazi specialists, they are up against the same hard fact that even seemingly illiterate and medieval Orientals know quite well on which side their bread is buttered. Had the solution of 1918 been less of a compromise and more sweeping, they would have hardly found even the rabble and the professional cut-throats prepared to join the Swastika flag. As things stand, they were able to harp upon but one grievance that pervaded for years both thought and action of the Arab world, that is rankling with a tenacity and painfulness far above its material importance: the unsolved Palestine question. The dilemma was created firstly by Sir Henry Mac-Mahon's promise to Sherif Hussein of Mecca in the course of their negotiations in 1915-16 of independence for the Arab world, and secondly by the Balfour Declaration of 2nd November 1917, guaranteeing Britain's 'best endeavours' for 'the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people'.

There is more, of course, in the apparent contradiction of these promises than meets the eye. There was a reservation in the promise to the Arabs concerning 'certain areas in the West'— meant to exclude Palestine, but not expressly saying so. In the promise to the Jews there was an obligation of British insistence upon the creation of a national home— whatever that may mean—in Palestine, but not upon the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish state at the expense of the Arabs, helped by immigration to create a Jewish majority. Neither pledge mentioned the partition of the Arbian lands into

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a number of British or French mandates, into pygmy states potential rivals with each other and dependant for their very existence upon their European protectors. The United independent, resurrected Arb Empire still hangs as a Fata Morgana, over the horizen and the desert dweller's keen eyes are watching for it. He is not anxious to exchange one foreign 'paramount power' for another.

Had Malcolm MacDonald's White Paper of May 1939 been carried into effect, it would have meant appointing quolifed Arabs and Jews to public office, in a proportion of two to one, while confining the influx of Jews permanently to the same proportion within Palestine's population. The White Paper provided for full independence, within ten years, limited only by certain treaty obligations to Britain. Political considerations, the fanatical resistence of Zionsim, the small but active nationalist minority within the Jewish world, have so far prevented the full realisation of the 1939 plan. It might have formed—and may yet form—the basis of a wise and useful settlement which even Zionists could not refuse, provided it was coupled with a British and perhaps American endavour to find a really independent national home. This should be large enough to absorb the Jewish millions from Germony, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and all the other countries whence Nazi fury drove them, tortured, despoiled and hopeless, into exile Meanwhile sincere or Nazi-in-fluenced Arab fanatics like Hadj Amin el Husseini, the brainy ex-mufti of Jerusalem, Palestine's 'Stormy Petrel,' the Syrian adventurer Fawzi Kaukji, Iraq's ambitious 'Fuhrer' Sejid Rahid Ali el Gailani, turned that default to good account for their own dark ends. These political adventurers managed for some time to stem and pervert an otherwise predominant leaning towards Britain and democracy. The conflict runs right through the heart of the Arab and even the whole Islamic world finding its echo in every single Arab heart.

ISLAM *(Contd.)*

Twenty-five years ago, when I myself fought on the other side, I watched that conflict in a different form. Even then the Arabs hated the Prussian spirit, that original predecessor of Nazism, and their Turkish masters hated it scarcely less violently. They felt despised. They were treated as 'natives' by smart Potsdam guardsmen, took their gold and gave them promises; but only a few of their leaders—young Ajemi Pasha, Sheikh of the Muntefiq, Homedi and Beds Bey, the Sheikhs of the mighty Shammar tribe (the last-named having honoured me with making me his 'blood-brother')—failed to change sides when the fortune of war turned against the Turks. They were, without exceptions, not just 'greedy, treacherous niggers'---as some of the precursors of Nazidom in those days liked to described them—but Arab patriots. Their memories of the great days of the Caliphs of Baghdad and Damascus were perhaps somewhat faded and legendary; their notion of a pan-Islamic, or at least, pan-Arab Empire -- modelled on the one which in the seventh and eight centuries had been the torch-bearer of the Mediterranean world was uncertain, semi-religious, semi-political. This conception was in fact vaguely Messianic, excepting the reappearance of Mohammed Abu'l Kassim, the 12th Imam of the Shiites, who was supposed to have survived in concealment for more than a thousand years. But even so their attitude towards the claims made upon them by Turks and 'Franks' alike was determined solely by Arab desire for unity and independence.

Dream-Empire of Arabs.

Who are the potential members of that dream-Empire of the Arabs? The answer differs according to whether a political or a racial point of view is adopted .The latter admits the the existence of only 17 million Arabs living to-day in Iraq (3·6 million), Palestine (1 mill.), Transjordania (0·3 mill.), Syria-Eebunon (3·6 mill.), Saudi-Arabia (4·5 mill.), Yamen (3·5 mill) and Oman (0·5 mill.). Yet in a wider sense Egypt (1·6 mill.), Libya (0·8 mill.), Tunisia (2·7 mill.) Algeria (6·5 mill.), French Morocco (6·4 mill.) and Spanish Morocco, including Tangier (0·9 mill.), belong to the same one-time Arabian lands and bring the total up to 50 mill. These figures, by the way, exclude the European population. The religious community of Islam embraced in its heyday Iran and Afghanistan, parts of India, the present-day Southern Siberia and North-Eastern China, Sicily and most of Spain and Portugal. But pan-Islamism was disrupted more than five centuries ago when Persian and Turkish nationalism entered the scene, and sectarianism unintentionally helped to weaken it. Thus the nucleus of a unified or federated Arab realm lies right across the highroads of the Empire.

That was why, during the last was, though at first with inadequate means, Germany pushed into the lands of Eden. That was the reason why our little group was sent on such adventurous errands. That is why I myself with our commander an old hand in Oriental warfare, and a few more comrades, played Lawrence's game among the tribes and their priests, did staff work in the Iraq Army as a sideline, organised transport and repair shops, river defences by primitive mines and barrages, tried to find badly-needed coal just badly-needed camels, among the reluctant tribes. That was why I had to carry on negotiations with tall, dark Bedouins who had ridden for weeks on their fast, slender Hehjihm camels from Er-Riad stronghold of Emir Ibn Rashid, Ibn Saud's fiercest adversary, or with Emir Hussein's nephew and special envoy from Mecca who wanted to learn about the prospects offered by the Emperor of 'Nemsaui' (Germany) before committing himself, a year latter, to T. E. Lawrence and his stronger arguments on behalf of the British Empire.

Changing scene in Arabia.

It was all very colourful and romantic; it created a deep nostalgia for the countries of the Sun and the desert spaces in one's soul. But already in those distant days it taught one the great truth that Kipling's famous saying about the East and the West has become an empty tag; that indeed, 'the twin have met.' The results were manifold. Horse and camel were displaced by motor-car and plane. In consequence the romantic nomads were settled down—much against their will—the old and hallowed, if sometimes cruel and harsh customs yielded to enforced laws and an efficient police; the ugly trestles of the oil wells alternated now with the slender silhouette of palmtrees. Instead of its holy, if often somewhat unruly rivers, the pipe-line become the life-dispenser of the country. These results may be unpleasant from an esthetical point of view. But they have fundamentally altered all the problems of the East--and thereby our own 'Oriental problem'. It is no longer an essential question who is to be the Caliph of the true Believer, or whether there is a Caliph at all; whether some part of the Near East or some individual believes in Abu Bekr's and Omar's, or in Ali's rightful succession as heir to the Prophet. As one of the most eminent and qualified representatives of the Arab world recently pointed out to me, it is 'only a tradition, under the guardianship of a Caliph, who would have to be appointed by a *Sharia*, a religious council, at some suitable future time'. How unessential the formerly predominant theologicrl motive were rendered by the realistic political considerations of to-day could be gathered from the fact that, some four years ago, one of the Shiite Mujtehids of Kerbela made the pilgrimage to Mecca and was received by the puritan King Ibn Saud as an honoured guest. At the invitation of Hadj Amin, the former Mufti, a shiite priest led the the prayers of Imam for the Sunnite community of

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PRESS

Another Non-Muslim Monopoly.

The cry is still they come There are persistent rumours to the effect that Mr. Jossleyn Hennessy, Principal Information Officer, Government of India, is going to Washington as Press Attache in Sir G. S. Bajpai's office and that Mr. Hennessy's place as head of the Bureau of Public Information will be taken over by Mr. Natarajan, Assistant Information Officer. The vacancy created by the promotion of Mr. Natarajan, it is further stated, will be filled by another Hindu publicist already in the employ of the department, while a third Hindu journalist, who won a bad eminence in the Punjab for his anti-Muslim ravings in the local Anglo-Indian daily, has only recently been appointed on a fat salary in the Bureau.

Far be it from us to grudge these gentlemen their good fortune. But the question arises, is the department to remain a non-Muslim preserve? The Public Information portfolio is now under the charge of Sir Akbar Hydari, but it is undeniable that with one exception all the highly paid posts in the Bureau of Public Information are held either by Europeans or Hindus. Will not the new member of the Viceroy's Executive Council see to it that he is not treated as a mere figurehead and that qualified Muslims get their due share in all the departments under his control?—*Eastern Times.*

Ring Down the Curtain.

The expected has happened and the Muslim League party in the Central Legislature has decided to boycott the present session .... The object is to dispel the false halo put on the recent device of the Secretary of State as the interim solution of the Indian problem. The withdrawal of the non official Muslims from the Central Legislature is a demonstration of the fact that they are not prepared to regard the recent decisions without protest, and that they are not behind hand in registering their resentment. The stupid gibe that the Muslim League is playing second fiddle to 'British Imperialism" stands refuted by independent action. The entry of eight Indians as Executive Councillors with disjointed portfolios would be a measly unilateral function, and the situation correctly viewed ought to provoke thought in minds not warped by considerations of prestige and prejudice. The Expansion-cum-Defence Council scheme is not a remedy for the situation, and we hope that the rump-House now left of the Legislature would in the intervals of mutual admiration pause to think of the significance of the gulf that divides the people from the Government. Ring down the curtain, the farce is nothing worth.—*Star of India.*

Turkey's Day.

Now almost the only neutral who has stood up successfully against intense Nazi pressure. Turkey has just celebrated her National Day. Appropriately, M. Saydam warned the country that they were still in danger, a fact which is underlined by Germany's desperate attempts to get at the neighbouring Caucasus.

In several ways, however, Turkey's position has improved during the past year. The Nazis and Fifth Columnists who threatened her rear from Syria, Iraq and Iran have been removed and contact with her British allies has been re-established. On the other hand, the German horde has reached Turkey's western frontier, though this seems to have had no affect on her resolution against being stampeded by the Axis. Germany's recent failure to obtain chrome from her is a case in point.

M. Saydam has one of the world's most unenviable jobs in guiding his country through the present crisis and with the storm at full blast nearby in Russia, there can be little wonder that he laid emphasis on the growing strength of the Turkish Army.—*Times of India.*

Mr. Fazlul Huq asked to Express Regret

League Working Committee Meets

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met at Delhi on Sunday and Monday last, and adopted the following resolutions:-

(1) A committee consisting of Mr. M.A, Jinnah, Nawsbzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Mr. G.M. Syed and Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan be appointed to decide upon such action by the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature as may be considered proper, to show the resentments nd disapproval of Muslim India against the manner in which the expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council was undertaken and carried out and the National Defence Council constituted, and the action and attitude of the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government in this connection, in consulation with the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature.

(2) The Working Committee considered the letter dated the 8th of September 1941, addressed to the Secretary, All-India Muslim League by the Hon'ble Mr, Fazlul Haq, tendering his resignation from the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and also the letter of Mr. Fazlul Haq addressed to the Secretary, dated 27th October 1941, received to-day in which he says "I feel that the matter relating to my letter addressed to you (Secretary of the All-India Muslim League) should be disposed of in my absence. My presence at the discussion may put some members of the League in an awkward position, but at any rate I would be put in an awkward position myself if I were to be present at the criticism that will be made when the letter comes up for discussion. I shall be grateful if you kindly convey to the President my regret that I will not be able to attend the meeting."

The Working committee consider that the following allegations contained in Mr. Fazlul Haq's letter of the 8th of September, addressed to the Secretary, are untrue and offensive and have cast serious aspersions on the President and the Working Committee and the Council

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ISLAM (Contd)

Jerusalam three years earlier. Ataturk's secularised Turkey and the reformist trends of a hardly less modern Shah of Iran set the pace; if the Arabs seem to lag behind, it is merely because they have not yet found the key for unity and free development

There is, broadly speaking no feeling of enmity towards the Jews, nor is there resentment against Britain, even though such a keen observer as Freya Stark wrote as long as ten years ago: 'It was the fashionable thing to be anti-British in Baghdad at that time'. The Arab world merely realises a few simple facts. It knows that the dream of a united or federated by the obligations which Britain under-took towards France and the Jews; that, even so, the tactful and understanding policy of Britain is by far preferable to a fate that under Nazi domination would differ little from that of Czechoslovakia or Poland; that a Jewish-Arab co-operation in Palestine to which so far the 1939 White Paper affords the most likely formula—if helpful for the cause of Britain, is above all necessary, from the point of view of the Jews who would be doomed in case of a Nazi victory; and that, as yet, no rival power has produced men and more understanding promoters of the Arab cause than Britain's officers and agents in the Near East Sir Kinahan Cornwallis in Baghdad, Mr. F. H. W. Stonewhere- Bird, the British Minister in Mecca, Colonel Peake or Major John Glubb, the famous 'Abu Heneik' of the Desert Petrol, are known to the Arabs as men who keep and deserve faith, and who know the three main arguments of the East: strength, wealth, and stealth.

As it had been my task twenty-five years ago to outwit them - or their predecessors—I can but concur. Germany failed then, as she will to-day, to win the core of the Islamic world for her cause. Stirred by the world revolution when its first act, the war of 1914-18, took place, inspired by the general trend towards nationalism this revolution provoked, the old, proud race forming that core cannot be satisfied in any way except by being left to settle its problems by itself. Its loyalty must arise--as my distinguished Arab friend puts it--'from a give-and-take in which both sides find their advantage; so far, nobody understands that game better than the British, and that above all accounts for the trend of our sympathies'.

Britains High-roads

The British Commonwealth has two high-roads connecting all its vital points the sea-route-*via* the Suez Canal, Red Sea and Indian Ocean, leading to India, Australia and the Far East, and the land and air route across Palestine, Iraq, Southern Iran or the Persian Gulf, linking up the British Isles with the same outposts. Even though for a time the old trade route around the Cape would offer a slow and expensive substitute, it would represent a grave menace to the very existence of the Empire if one of these roads were threatened to be blocked by the enemy. Hitler's military advisers see its point clearly, and this accounts—perhaps to an even greater extent than the liquid gold under the parched Mesopotamian soil - for their desperate efforts to close the pincers around Suez.

Crete, Syria, Palestine, with Iraq as a side-line, on the one hand a push from Libya through Egypt, on the other—the territory involved by Nazi military action in the attempt to cut the main artery of the British Empire would be Arabian land. If this could have been done with Arabian connivance or even toleration, British policy and diplomacy during the last decades would be sadly to blame. Whatever the temporary form of their reconstitude national life, Arab resurrection was due to British initiative and help—even though their own brave fight should not be disregarded. Such a people should be the ideal guardian of high-roads of the Empire. There is no reason to doubt that chivalrous sons of the desert are willing to accept this guardianship. Many thousands of them have volunteered for the hard task of patrolling the pipe-lines and the motor roads which have brought to once sleepy lands the blessings of progress and prosperity. They are led by British officers who are admired and respected for their courage and deep understanding of the Oriental soul.

Yet – it this sufficient? We may safely say that the existence of men in leading positions--like those who had to run for their lives from Baghdad after their plot had collapsed, mainly because Hitler's time-table was upset--constitutes a serious warning. The same potential danger is present in the 'Golden Square'—the group of four Iraqi colonels of considerable influence and fanatical nationalism, and in many others who even now may have gone underground, biding their time. The formula of a revolt engineered and paid by Berlin is too crude to be applied to the complicated reactions of a people so fundamentally different from those of the West. There is danger that the colourful picture of the East becomes meaningless if we content ourselves with just black and white .if the 'rebels' are all labelled devils, and those co-operating with Britain are all called angels. That would infer that by simply destroying the former, only staunch friends and adherents would remain; or even that by rettlin;; a few grievances, insignificant in view of the present momentous struggle, the high roads of the Empire running through the Near East would be made safe once and for all.

A start was made in this direction. A wave of grateful feeling might have been expected when (in accordance with the White Paper) Jewish immigration into Palestine was restricted, the sale of Arab lands regulated and---in all parts vital for Arabs---prohibited. But there was no such reaction ; nor would the full realisation of the White . Paper's programme dispel all the doubt, hesitation, and wavering in Arab loyalties. Four centuries of opperession and foreign domination have left too deep an imprint on the mind of a once great nation, too much scepticism and distrust, too much self-centered egoism. Even within the Arab world itself this has created considerable obstacles in the way of hotly-desired unity. Propaganda, truthful and well adapted to the task, must overcome the existent difficulties. The treatment of their racial and religious brethren in Libya during the years of Italian rule ; the cruelties committed in Abyssinia during the invasion and the subsequent five years of her Fascist occupation ; the rule of the Gestapo in the Balkan countries (nearly all having Muslim minorities, which in Albania even become a majority) these are all convincing proofs that countries of a precarious notional structure have nothing to gain, but everything to lose under Nazi domination. An Axis victory---whatever Grobba's previous promises or pledges --- would inevitably degrade the Arabs. The Nazis despise the Arab race for its 'Semitic' origin. They would certainly debase them to the standing of those 'natives,' 'coloured slaves,' or whatever else overbearing Prussian officers called them even in the days when they had to pretend at least some regard for their ally, the Sultan-Caliph in Constantinople. British interests, on the other hand, are clearly compatible with a unified, independent and strong Arabian realm. Ever since the Ottawa conference, the British Commonwealth had been developing into a federation of independent states, connected by an identity of interests closer than any constitutional or political bond. The principles guiding this federation point the way to an Anglo-Arab co-operation capable of great adaptability and variation.

The existing grievances, compared with the major issue, dwindle into insignificance. The solution of the Palestine problem has been already indicated. The Bedouin question—which demands not so much the establishment of permanent law

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ISLAM (Ccntd.)

and order by policing efficiently the wide open spaces considered for centuries the pastures of nomadic tribes, as a new economic order—will be more or less simplified by the settling down of such tribes, deprived of their traditional livelihood as breeders of horses, camels and sheep by the development of motorised transport, and by the creation of new markets for their agricultural and handicraft products. The systematic abolition of an antiquated feudal system, by giving new settlers and fellaheen an equal chance to acquire their own land, would go far to overcome political unrest, jealousy and hatred, all exploited for sinister purposes.

Turkey and Iran have shown that, under a wise and progressive leadership, so-called backward peoples are able to make an astonishingly rapid progress. Among the peoples of the Near East, the Arabs have the oldest and most dignified record of previous accomplishments. At least one of their leaders, King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, is an outstanding personality, who has shown great wisdom and farsighted moderation. If British policy bears in mind that with a race of strong imagination, even imaginary wrong weigh havier than the most tempting offers and bribes, there is no doubt that the Arab world will make a faithful and valuable ally, the strong guardian of Britain's high roads,

Mr. Anthony Eden's Mansion House speech on the 29th May, 1941, has done much to further that cause. He expressed British sympathy with the Syrian aspirations for independence, and with the general Arab desire for a greater degree of unity. He promised to support an appeal to Britirh friendship if made for that purpose, describing it as 'both natural and right that the cultural and economic ties between the Arab countries, and the political ties too, should be srengthened; His Majesty's Government for their part will give their full support to any scheme that commands general approval.' That leaves initiative and planting to the Arabs themselves and is the right attitude in every respct—as the echo from the entire Near East shows. Together with the inpiring message of liberty for Syria, both by the Free French leaders and Britain, it should help to condemn those who, sulking, discontented, or under the influence of Nazi gold, stood in the way of natural development, not realising that they were merely tools in the stupendous gamble which in the first place was aiming at Iraq's oil as the badly wanted essential requisite of Hitler's war-machine.

They were only tools—because for the Nazis, Arab national aspirations are of the same value and validity as the pseudo-legal claim they kept in readiness, dating back to the years before the last war This was based on the concession granted by Abdul Hamid to the German-owned Baghdad Railway Company. The grant covered a strip of soil along the railway track about twelve miles wide on each side. *with all it contains under ground.* The cunningly formulated concession was aimed at the possession of Mosul of oil-fields. It secured them, although in 1913 British intervention resulted in a comprise under which Britain and Germany were to share the oil on a fifty-fifty basis. Aricle 155 of the Versailles Treaty annulated all such German rights. Hitler repudiated the treaty. Iraq was declared by the Germans to have inherited the obligation undertaken by Abdul Hamid. Only Britain's friendship and a British victory can save the Arabs from becoming included in a Nazi 'Lebensraum, with all the horror and suffering such a fate implies.

MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT (Contd.)

22nd of July. As we say, the manner in which it was sndertaken and fnally carried out ignoring everybody, and I am particularly speaking on behalf of the Mtslim League, is most objectionable. Why have you ignored us? We have put no difficulties in your way. We have said from the very beginning that major issues will be considered later on. If you honestly and really want our co-operation, you must associate us with you with a real and genuine share in the authority of the Government not only at the Centre but in the Provinces as well. Then and then alone we can give you assistance, not because we are going to favour you but because you happen to be the major authority. Then and then alone we can give Government all the assistance in men, money, and supply.

"But ignoring everything, you have come to this decision. And this decision is announced and forced upon us, contrary to our advice and notwithstanding our opposition. We have reasoned, we have argued and we had long negotiations, and we hope that the protest that we are registering to-day will open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf and that you will, with God's help have wisdom and statesmanship to revise this scheme of yours which, I assure you, is not going to help you by a little in the intensifcation of your war effort. On the contrary you must have realised that it is going to do harm to you, and I am interested as much as anybody else to ward off that haɪm. and I advise you to think over.

Don't Misrepresent us.

"This is the reason why we have adopted this course, Finally, I say to the Government, I say to Honourable Members, I say to the Press and the public outside, Please do not misrepresent us. It is the Government and the Government alone that is responsible, and one cannot come to any other conclusion than that rhey do not want our assistance, they do not want our co-operation. When they talk of co-operation, they mean on such terms as no self-respecting organisation can come. Well, Sir, the spirit behind this measure and this policy is this— in the words of Sir Claude Jacob when he sent a message to troops— the Empire will not forget your loyal and faithful services. Well, you want us to be completely bereft of self-respect, you want us to give you assistance and the Empire will not forget our loyal and faithful services. We have reached the stage to-day for which you alone are responsible. You do not really honestly want our asssstance;

"Sir, I have done and I hope you will understand the spirit of this protest in right and proper perspective,

(At this stage the Members of the Muslsm League Party withdrew from the Chamber).

The Khaksars

After a brief debate. the House rejected on Tuesday without a division Mr. Kazmi's adjournment motion to discuss the "banning of Khasksar volunteers by the Gorvernment of India and thereby hampering the development of indigenous organizations which are a necessity for the defence of the cuntry in times of war".

LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE

(Continued from page 9)

of the All-India Muslim League and the Muslim leaders of the Provinces where the Mussalmans are in a minority :—

(a) "I maintain that this action of the President was unconstitutional in the highest degree,"

(b) "The Working Committee endorsed the action of the President, becuse they had no other alternative before them. If they had refused to ratify the President's action it would have amounted to a vote of no-confidence in the President, and this contingency the Working Committee were not prepared to face. It is for this reason that the Working Committee passed the resolution, a copy of which you have forwarded to me calling upon me to resign unconditionally from the National Defence Council."

(c) "But before I conclude I wish to record a most emphatic protest against the manner in which the interests of Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab are being imperilled by Muslim Leaders of the Provinces where the Muslims are in a minority, popularly known among Muslims as the Minority Provinces of India."

(d) "As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim Laegue. Much as I deplore this course I feel I cannot usefully continue to be a member of a body which shows scant courtesy to provincial leaders and which arrogates to itself the functions which ought to be exercised by the Provincial Executive."

(e) "The President of the All-India Muslim League has signally failed to discharge the heavy responsibility of his office in a constitutional and reasonable manner."

(f) "In tendering my resignation I should also like to enter the caveat that the recent events have forcibly brought home to me that the principles of democracy and autonomy are being subordinated to the arbitrary decision of a single individual who seeks to rule as an omnipotent authority over the destiny of 33 millions of Muslims in the Province of Bengal who occupy the key position in Indian Muslim politics."

Ten Days

The Working Committee therefore, call upon Mr, Fazlul Haq to withdraw these allegations and express his regret for having cast these aspersions within 10 days from the date of the receipt of intimation of this resolution,

On the expiry of the time specified above the Working Committee will decide what action is called for after considering any explanation that Mr. Fazlul Haq may offer either in writing or in person and for this purpose, among other matters, instruct the Secretary to inform Mr. Fazlul Haq that the Working Committee will meet on November 16, 1941 at the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League in Delhi at 11 A,M.

Those who attend the meetings were Mr. M, A. Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Raja Amir Ahmad Khan, of Mahmudabad, Chaudhri Khaliqu-zz-aman, Nawab M. Ismail Khan, Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Maulana Mohammed Akram Khan, Khwaja Sir Nizamuddin, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Begum Maulana Mohammed Ali, Haji Sir Abbulla Haroon Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan, of Mamdot, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhry, Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, Malik Barkat Ali, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. Mr. G.M. Syed, Qazi Mohammed Isa and Haji Abdur Razzaq H. A. Sattar Seth.

President's Conference

The first conference of the presidents and secretaries of all the provincial Muslim League, was held in the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League. Daryagunj, Delhi on Tuesday and was attended by the representatives of all the provinces. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, presided.

At the outset Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the League, explained the aims and objects of the conference.

The conference will establish a link between the centre and the provinces for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities and ensuring intensified progress of the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. To intensify the League's programme it was decided that each province should endeavour to convene as many conferences in districts as was possible. Each province was enjoined to train a larger number of workers and arrange to have at least one batch of workers constantly touring the province to propagate the ideals of the League amongst the Muslim masses. The provinces were also enjoined to have a recruitment drive and enrol at least 10 per cent of the Muslim population as primary members of the League and one per cent as volunteers of the National Guard.

It was decided thatthe central body should arrange for the preparation and distribution of literature, particularly relating to political questions and Pakistan, in order to secure uniformity in the matter of policy and programme of the League.

The provincial Leagues were urged to observe uniformity in regard to fundamentals in the constitution of their organizations.

These conferences of provincial presidents and secretaries will become a regular feature of the League organization and will be called to meet at regular intervals.

League Five-year plan Committee

A meeting of the five-year plan committee, appointed at the Madras Session of the All-India Muslim League was held on Tuesday at Mr. M. A. Jinnah's residence. The meeting decided that all members of the committee should prepare notes containing their proposals before December 25 and circulate them among members of the committee, after which a general meeting of the committee is to be held to consider and formulate a report.

Okhla Basic School

The new buildings of the Basic School at Okhla near Delhi were opened by Mr. A.V. Askwith Chief Commissioners, on Tuesday afternoon. A large gathering attended the ceremony.

After he had declared the new buildings of the School open the Chief Commissioner visited the Jamia Millia Teachers' Training Institute. The guests were then entertained to tea at the Jamia Millia.

HAJ PILGRIMS

Last Date Changed

In a previous *communique* pilgrims intending to sail from Calcutta were advised to reach the port by November 17 at the latest, says a press *communique*. For unavoidable reasons the last day of arrival of pilgrims at that port has been altered to Sunday, November 16 and pilgrims are advised to reach Calcutta at the latest by this date.

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